All-4-One: One Kinship, 4 Parenting Values in Sabu Community

Beatriks Novianti Bunga
Psychology Department, Airlangga University
Airlangga 4–6, Surabaya 60286, Jawa Timur, Indonesia
E-mail address: beatriks.novianti.bunga-2022@psikologi.unair.ac.id
ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5935-1946

Achmad Chusairi
Psychology Department, Airlangga University
Airlangga 4–6, Surabaya 60286, Jawa Timur, Indonesia
E-mail address: achmad.chusairi@psikologi.unair.ac.id
ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3073-6372

Nur Aini Fardana Nawangsari
Psychology Department, Airlangga University
Airlangga 4–6, Surabaya 60286, Jawa Timur, Indonesia
E-mail address: nurainy.fardana@psikologi.unair.ac.id
ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8584-3506

ABSTRACT

Aim. This study explores the core parenting values of the Sabu community and their transmission across generations.

Methods. Data was collected through in depth interviews with nine participants recruited using snowball sampling. Member checking was used as a triangulation

Results. The findings reveal that kinship and communal ties form the foundation of parenting values in Sabu society. Guided by the local philosophy *ie lowe wini dome mude para lai* ("better to have many siblings because it makes life easier"), parents construct values in a layered structure, social responsibility, group solidarity, and practical ethics, including honesty and the prohibition of theft. These values are transmitted through rituals, traditions, and everyday practices, highlighting that parenting is not an individual responsibility but a collective duty of the community. Ultimately, all values converge on one central orientation, one kinship, which shapes both personal development and collective identity.

Conclusions. This study contributes to a broader understanding of parenting values as sociocultural phenomena, while also providing a conceptual model of layered values rooted in indigenous communal life.

Keywords: parenting value, kinship, Sabu tribe, value transmission, indigenous

Introduction

In cross-cultural psychology, parenting values are understood as a part of the wider socio-cultural ecosystem that shapes and surrounds everyday family life (Harkness & Super, 2020a; Lansford, 2022; Riany et al., 2017). In other words, parenting values are not handed down passively from generation to generation. They also grow out of parents' adaptation, negotiation, and interpretation of various external influences, such as economic dynamics, changing gender roles, and the challenges of modernity.

Cross-cultural studies show that parenting values are strongly influenced by the dominant value systems in the communities where parents live (S. Harkness & Super, 2020a; Super & Harkness, 2002). These values do not stand alone, but reflect cultural ideologies that govern social relations, family structures, and the goals of child education (Fischer & Mansell, 2009; Schwartz & Bardi, 2001).In individualistic societies such as the United States and many European countries, parenting practices emphasise values such as autonomy, independence, and self-expression. These values are central to supporting children's personal development and preparing them for individual freedom in adulthood (Baker & Barg, 2019; Gonçalves e Silva & Duque, 2025; Gorla et al., 2024; Tudge et al., 2000).

In collectivist societies such as China and several other Asian countries, parenting values focus more on family harmony, respect for parents, and a strong sense of social responsibility towards groups and communities (He et al., 2021). Meanwhile, in societies where religion plays a central cultural role, such as in India, parenting values are greatly influenced by moral and religious teachings. These are important foundations in shaping children's character and integrity (Bunga et al., 2024; Novianti et al., 2023).

Although various cross-cultural studies have explained the differences in parenting values between individualistic, collectivistic, and religious societies, most of these studies are still macro and oriented towards the nuclear family (Craft et al., 2022). Very few have explored how parenting values are defined and practised communally in indigenous societies, such as the Sabu community (Lin et al., 2023; Messner, 2024; Novianti et al., 2023).

Small communities such as the Sabu tribe in East Nusa Tenggara, which have unique social structures and cultural values, are rarely explored in academic literature (Bunga et al., 2025). The Sabu people have a philosophy of life called "*ie lowe wini dome mude para lai,"* which means "it is better to have many siblings because it will make the future easier" (Ly et al., 2023).This belief puts kinship and social solidarity at the centre of a person's life. For the Sabu community, raising children is not only about the individual but about preparing them to contribute to the wider community, which is seen as the ultimate purpose of parenting values.

This research is important because it presents the perspective of indigenous communities that have been marginalised in the discourse of global parenting theory. This study also adds a theoretical contribution by showing that parenting values should

be seen as a social and cultural phenomenon that cannot be reduced to individual preferences or the nuclear family model. Using an Exploratory Descriptive Qualitative (EDQ) approach, this study is expected to provide an in-depth understanding of how parenting values are constructed and implemented in a complex community such as the Sabu tribe.

Literature Review

The concept of parenting values originally came from studies of developmental psychology and family anthropology-sociology in Western countries in the late 1990s, when cross-cultural studies were on the rise. Cross-cultural approaches, such as those proposed by Bornstein (2012), S. Ed. Harkness & Super (1996), S. Harkness & Super (2020b), Keller et al. (2006), and Super & Harkness (1986, 2002),brought an understanding that culture influences how parents develop parenting values for their children. Culture influences how parents consider ethnotheories and values important to pass on to their children.

Overall, the study results show that parenting values are greatly influenced by the cultural, social, and historical context in which parents live. The proposed cultural model of parenting (Bornstein, 2012; Bornstein et al., 2011)explains that parenting values are shaped by culture (because culture sets values, norms, and expectations for children and the role of parents), but at the same time, parenting practices also shape and preserve culture, because it is through culture that parenting values are transmitted. This model also proposes that although parenting practices may appear similar across cultures, their functions and meanings can differ substantially, depending on the values prevailing in that society. Bronstein's cultural studies were conducted in the cultural settings of individualistic and collectivistic societies. Although these studies had a major impact on the development of the concept of parenting values, it was recommended that cultural richness should not be limited to individualistic and collectivistic cultural values alone. So far, studies have only highlighted the differences in parenting values between individualistic cultures, which emphasise autonomy, and collectivist cultures, which emphasise interdependence (Baker & Barg, 2019; Irwin & Elley, 2011; Keijer, 2021)without considering other, more complex cultures such as indigenous communities (Burke, 2023; Javo et al., 2003n.d.; Maiyo et al., 2023; Masri et al., 2025; Obidi, 1993; Ponnapalli et al., 2023; Sasmita et al., 2022).

Recent studies in the context of parenting values have also been conducted (Bornstein et al., 2011; Lansford, 2024)(S. Harkness & Super, 2020b, 2020a; Keller et al., 2006; Lansford, 2022, 2024; Lin et al., 2023; Riany et al., 2017). These studies add that values such as individualism, collectivism, and conformity influence how parents choose parenting values in various countries. However,

cross-cultural research is still very biased towards Western countries and rarely reaches indigenous communities or communities in developing countries such as Indonesia and the Sabu tribe.

Lansford and colleagues (Bornstein et al., 2011; Gorla et al., 2024; Lansford, 2024)also explicitly state that their research is cross-sectional, so it cannot understand the unique values of a country and explain the cause-and-effect relationship or changes in values and parenting practices over time. They also acknowledge that the data used is cross-national, does not capture local nuances of values, and relies too heavily on self-reports, which are prone to social desirability bias. Furthermore, they suggest that future studies expand the dimensions of cultural values studied and increase the representation of communities from developing countries and indigenous peoples, which are still under-explored in the international literature. Landsford (Lansford, 2022) also suggest integrating qualitative and quantitative methods to understand the relationship between cultural values and parenting behaviour in greater depth. These studies provide a strong foundation that although the parenting value framework has been extensively researched at the global level, local dimensions, cultural meanings, and the process of intergenerational value transmission remain a large gap that needs to be filled.

Methodology

Data Collection Design and Techniques

This study uses an Explorative Descriptive Qualitative (EDQ) approach (Stebbins, 2001, 2012). This design is most appropriate because it is typically used to identify and understand phenomena that are not yet widely known. It allows us to explore new or previously unstudied topics and opens up opportunities for further research (Hunter et al., 2019; Sandelowski, 2000). EDQ provides an opportunity to explore how the Sabu community interprets parenting values based on their unique culture.

As a member of the Sabu tribe, who was born and raised in an urban setting, the researcher adopts an ambivalent position: neither a complete outsider nor fully immersed in the community's daily practices. This awareness is important because the closeness of identity can easily mask bias as truth. Therefore, this research approach is grounded in a spirit of reflection in which I consciously observe, listen, and refrain from making assumptions as an "insider."

This inquiry also builds upon earlier research on parenting in indigenous societies. Over the past five years, studies have been conducted in various communities in East Nusa Tenggara to understand the decadent and unique values, which differ from modern parenting theories. This research is part of an effort to document and understand the values of parenting that exist within a specific collective-communal and spiritual logic.

Participants

Nine participants were involved in this study, obtained through snowball sampling. The process began with door-to-door visits and meeting a mother willing to be the initial participant and referred us to other participants until nine participants were gathered. Of these nine participants, it turned out that three of them were parents who also serve as both community leaders and religious leaders.

Table 1
Participant Information

Initials	Age (years)	Gender Gender	Number of Children
N1	36	Female	3
N2	62	Female	4
N3	43	Male	5
N4	65	Male	4
N5	49	Male	3
N6	54	Female	3
N7	46	Male	6
N8	60	Male	5
N9	57	Male	6

Source. Research data.

The interviews lasted between 30 and 60 minutes and were conducted flexibly in the morning and afternoon, in a relaxed atmosphere in the yard. Open-ended questions were used to explore narratives about daily life with children, such as:

- What important values do you instil as a Sabu parent?
- Why did you choose those values?
- Is there a philosophical basis for these values?
- How do you instil these values?
- Are there any traditions or rituals related to instilling these values?
- What are the parenting values in these rituals/traditions?
- What are your expectations for your child?

Triangulation And Meaning Validation Strategy

To maintain credibility and accuracy of meaning, we conducted interpretive confirmation (member checking) with the participants and also triangulation with parents who were community and traditional leaders. The findings and insights from the parents were communicated back to them to obtain a more holistic and contextual view.

Ethics Procedure

The Research Ethics Committee at the Faculty of Psychology, Airlangga University, certified this research for human ethics. This research was declared ethically sound and approved on March 18, 2025, with protocol number No.1073/B/UN3.FPSI/III/TA.00.03/2025.

Research Procedures

Data collection was conducted in two Sabu villages as recommended by the traditional leaders we met. One is located far outside the city, and the other is the oldest Sabu village in Kupang City. Ninety per cent of the population are Sabu people who migrated directly from Sabu to seek work in the capital of NTT and eventually formed a Sabu traditional community. This research was conducted over approximately one month and divided into two main phases: data collection and verification *(member checking)*. Data collection was conducted from mid-March to late April 2025. Interviews were conducted with each participant at varying times. Two participants were interviewed twice, resulting in 11 interviews.

This process was followed by the member checking stage, which was carried out on May 12-14, 2025. In each interview, the researcher allocated between 45 and 60 minutes with the participants. The interaction was not limited to the formal interview process but also included casual conversation before and after the interview. The researcher arrived early and built trust before the interview was conducted.

The researcher began the interview by asking light questions about daily activities, explaining the purpose of the research, requesting permission to record, and asking participants to sign an informed consent form. This approach indirectly created a more natural conversation atmosphere and strengthened the participants' trust in the researcher.

Data Analysis

The data analysis process in this pilot study was carried out in stages using an inductive approach, with the help of ATLAS.TI software is a tool for managing and analysing qualitative data. This stage was carried out after the entire data collection process was completed and took approximately 2 months. The analysis used in this study was six thematic analyses according to Braun and Clarke (2006)

This stage was carried out by two assistants with bachelor's degrees in education and experience in cultural and parenting research. This collaboration aimed to increase the objectivity of the classification and avoid single researcher bias.

The entire analysis process and coding decisions were recorded in the memo feature available in *ATLAS.ti*, as a form of traceable analytical documentation. The researchers

identified 219 codes generated from 401 quotes. These codes represent data fragments that contain meanings relevant to the research focus on parenting values in Sabu society.

Results

In the view of the Sabu community, values are understood not only as a set of rules or moral principles, but also as part of a philosophical order rooted in collective life. These values reflect a guide to life that is not only personal but also social, transmitted in daily relationships and through cultural practices. The following are important *parenting values* that parents in the Sabu community should transmit.

Core Value: "Ie Lowe Wini Dome Mude Para Lai"

This value is the primary foundation of the Sabu community. As a communal society, the Sabu community has constructed a local philosophical value *called " ielowe wini dome mude para lai*, which means *"how good and beautiful it is to have many brothers and sisters living in love, which makes many things easier."* This universal philosophical value has been passed down uniquely within the Sabu tribe. This philosophy places kinship as the basis of individual existence.

> All values in Sabu life are actually directed towards togetherness. When the Sabu people refer to *lowe wini*, the term symbolises the root of all their cultural values. All existing values, whether in customs, traditions, or parenting, ultimately converge on one core: the togetherness that binds all Sabu people as one family. (N3)
>
> There is indeed individual ownership, but the main orientation of the Sabu people actually lies in the existence of the community or communal life. This strength is extreme in the form of a lowe wini family value. This value is considered good because it makes overcoming various life problems easier. Thus, *lowe wini* occupies a position as a philosophical and ideal level that forms the basis for shaping and directing the cultural values of the Sabu people. (N2)

This value is also evident in parenting. Children are accustomed from an early age to getting to know and interacting with extended family members at family gatherings, such as mourning ceremonies. Practices such as sleeping at their grandparents' house, being involved in family activities, and parents' messages to always maintain the family's good name are concrete examples of instilling kinship values. "When I was little, my grandmother often took me to various family activities. Because of that closeness, my relationship with my uncles never felt strange, but was naturally established as part of the extended family." (N5)

> If Sabu people say they are relatives, they will make time. They usually visit, stay for a night or two, and then go home again. It is not just for fun, but it is their way of maintaining close-

> ness, so that family relationships remain strong and do not become strained. […] If there are difficulties, they feel that there are people who care or support them. (N7)

The instilling of these family values is also reinforced through rituals and oral traditions. One important practice is the tradition of reciting the marga (genealogy) during mourning ceremonies. During this moment, children are asked to sit quietly and listen to the family lineage sung or recited by community members who understand the family tree. The goal is not only to introduce the kinship structure, but also to instil a sense of belonging to the extended family.

> In the tradition of death, they usually open a mat and sit together to listen to the narration... Young children who are related are asked to sit and focus on listening to the names of clans that are connected to the deceased... So that children know which clans are related to them and why. (N5)
>
> In Sabu tradition, the creation of a genealogy does not stop at close ancestors, but can be traced back to God. In my opinion, only the Sabu people have this unique custom. The genealogy is not just a record of descent, but a way to remember one's origins, maintain identity, and affirm that the lives of the Sabu people are always connected to the divine power that is believed to be the source of all life. (N6)

Another symbolic practice often performed at family gatherings is nose kissing, which symbolises brotherhood and respect. Children are always brought by their parents to family gatherings such as funerals. Moreover, parents will set an example at these gatherings by performing the nose kissing tradition, and the children will follow them from behind.

> We usually bring our children when there is grief in the family. The result is that they know their family and meet their relatives there. They must kiss their relatives on the nose there... You must also kiss everyone we kiss because they are all relatives... Bring them to the funeral so they get used to seeing the faces of the people who come, and naturally know that these are their relatives. (N2)

The Value of Social Responsibility

The Sabu community internalises the value of social responsibility as part of their collective identity as a communal society. Responsibility is not only understood as a personal commitment to the immediate family, but is extended to social responsibility towards the community.

Responsibility is understood not only personally but also in a broader social context. A man, for example, is considered socially immature if he has not made a clear contribution to the community. As one participant said:

> Sabu men must be really hardworking, because that's where their pride lies. They work not only for their wives or children but also for the entire extended family and village. People will say he is a real man if he can work hard for many people. (N5)

Contribution to the community is a measure of a person's value and even a prerequisite for marriage. A man unable to tap palm wine, cook sugar, or manage a garden is not considered ready to start a family because he has not demonstrated *social responsibility*.

> The value of responsibility lies there. Sabu boys cannot marry if they cannot prove themselves as real men. That means they must be able to tap palm wine, cook sugar, work in the fields, and also serve the community. That is a measure of maturity and responsibility before they are considered ready for marriage. (N9)

The value of responsibility is not only imposed on men. Girls are also trained to weave and garden as part of their social role as future mothers and community members:

> Mothers in Sabu are often considered failures if their daughters cannot do the housework they are supposed to do. For example, if they cannot cook, weave, or take care of daily chores. So, a mother's success is measured by how skilled her daughters are and how ready they are to carry out the roles they have been taught since childhood. (N1)

In daily practice, families prepare livestock and garden produce not for their own use, but as a form of preparation for giving at important times, such as deaths or weddings in the community. Children are asked to help care for livestock actively (pigs) from an early age and to weave as a form of learning responsibility towards the community:

> Yes, for example, raising pigs and weaving are done as a precaution. Everything is ready if there is a traditional event, and we must contribute. The results are even used to prepare for death later, so that the family will not have difficulties. So, from an early age, children are taught that work is important for their future and to help the family when needed. (N8)

Children are introduced to communal work from an early age through going to the fields, learning to tap palm wine, or helping with family activities. The value of hard work is part of an unwritten social curriculum that is carried out collectively:

> Here, no child is allowed to stay at home without work. From around the age of six, children are already invited to work. They are always taken everywhere by their parents, especially to the fields, so that they get used to participating in work with all family members. From an early age, they learn responsibility and understand that hard work is part of everyday life. (N3)
>
> Children in Sabu are taught from an early age that they must be useful, not only to themselves or their immediate family, but especially to the community. This value makes children grow up aware that their existence is only considered valuable if they can benefit many people, help others, and support community life. (N2)

This practice is reinforced in the *Ko'o Ma* tradition or garden work ritual carried out together with children and families as a form of training in the values of work and responsibility:

> Usually, children are brought along to participate in *Ko'o Ma* activities, which involve cleaning the garden. A special place and certain rituals are performed in the garden. Everything is done together to be blessed. Therefore, children must participate early to learn about working in the garden and the values of togetherness, prayer, and responsibility passed down through tradition. (N5)

The community is the centre of all activities. Working, sharing, praying, and harvesting are all done together, because life is not just for oneself.

> Everything they do is basically directed towards the interests of the community. In the view of the Sabu people, the community always comes first. Every effort, work, and ritual is not only for personal or immediate family interests, but also so that the whole group can live in harmony, help each other, and be strong in the face of challenges. Therefore, from an early age, the children are taught that life's purpose is not for oneself, but for the common good. (N7)

The Value of Group Solidarity

The value of group solidarity in the context of Sabu society is closely related to and overlaps with the value of kinship. However, it has distinctiveness, emphasising mutual assistance and collective participation in the wider community, including those not immediate family members. The value of social solidarity in Sabu society is a key pillar supporting kinship continuity. Solidarity is not merely a form of reciprocal assistance but has become part of a value system that is taught and passed down from generation to generation.

Group solidarity in Sabu society is not merely a form of empathy or incidental assistance but has become an organised social system passed down from generation to generation. It is reflected in various social practices, such as involvement in bereavement without being notified. One informant stated:

> We Sabu people, no one needs to tell us when a relative dies. Even if the distance is far, we must come if we hear a family connection. It has become a moral standard, because death is considered a shared matter that must be faced as a large family. (N1)

This practice shows that physical presence and concrete action are more important than formal invitations in Sabu culture. Social sensitivity to events in the community makes each feel obliged to attend and participate. The concept of reciprocity is also the basis of solidarity. Kindness received will be repaid at the appropriate time, not as an administrative obligation, but as a form of collective consciousness:

> I do not know the details, but I feel that way. Perhaps the older generation thought that we will all die, so when someone dies, people will also pass away. That is what I think, so death is always seen as a shared matter that the whole family must face. (N2)

Solidarity is also demonstrated through mutual assistance, where the community participates in helping families who experience births, deaths, or other social events. As explained in the following excerpt:

> Regarding cooperation, the Sabu people always instil this from an early age. There will always be contributions whenever there is a problem in someone's home, whether birth or a death. It could be in the form of a pig or anything else for the community. In this way, parents instil the value that every problem must be borne together, not just a matter for the immediate family. (N2)

These actions are not only carried out in ceremonial events, but also in everyday life. For example, in neighbourly relationships.

> I have felt this custom since I was a child, living here with my neighbours. My parents always tried to give if a neighbour complained or needed help. Even though they did not have much, they still tried to share what they could. The principle is that you cannot let your neighbours suffer alone. (N3)

The values of giving and sharing are characteristic of Sabu solidarity. In one quote, an informant explains how guests are considered a shared responsibility:

> For example, when we visit a village, the Sabu people always have unwritten rules. As soon as we arrive, we are immediately considered the responsibility of the family we are visiting. The host will take the responsibility to preparing food and drink, so guests don't need to feel awkward or worried. That is how the Sabu people show kinship and maintain the honour of the community. (N4)

In addition, the system of 'family arisan' or voluntary contributions at family events shows how the community maintains social cohesion through collective customs:

> In Seba, usually a few days before a big event, people start coming to bring monetary donations. Some give a hundred thousand, two hundred thousand, or even up to a million. All of this is given voluntarily to help families who are holding events. So the system is similar to an arisan, where everyone contributes and will help each other in return at some point. This custom allows the Sabu people to maintain togetherness and ensure that no family bears the burden alone. (N5)

Group solidarity in Sabu society is not a temporary or reactive social phenomenon. It results from a deep-rooted value system that places togetherness, empathy, and social commitment at the core of communal life. In this context, individuals do not stand alone, but are always connected to the community in both good times and bad:

> For the Sabu people, life is always lived together. If a family or neighbour is struggling, we share their hardship. If they are happy, we are happy too. So joy and sorrow are shared equally, because that is how we maintain togetherness and strengthen family ties. (N9)

Ethical Values

In the communal Sabu society, ethical values play an important role in maintaining social order, guiding behaviour, and creating harmonious relationships between individuals and groups. These ethical values are instilled from an early age by the family and reinforced by customary rules. These values include honesty, order, a friendly and open attitude, and respect for others.

One concrete form of ethical values is not stealing, even the smallest amount. Parents instil this principle as a basic value that children must uphold. The prohibition against taking other people's belongings is not only a matter of ownership, but also a sign of personal integrity that is upheld in the community:

> What I often emphasise to children is simple: never take other people's belongings. Please do not steal, no matter how small it is. I always forbid and remind them, because stealing is not only wrong in the eyes of others, but it can also damage the family's reputation and cause embarrassment in front of the community. (N1)

In addition to honesty, openness and speaking truthfully are characteristic of Sabu society's ethics. They prefer direct communication and do not like to "beat around the bush" when conveying something:

> That is also one thing, Sister, but something else distinguishes the Sabu people from others. For a long time, the Sabu people have always spoken plainly, without beating around the bush. What they think is what they say. So the Sabu people are known for being straightforward, honest, and not liking to obscure their meaning with long, rambling stories. (N1)

Social ethics are also reflected in the strict prohibition against fighting or cursing others. It is not only a matter of manners, but also a form of responsibility for social harmony. Open conflict is considered to tarnish the good name of the family and community:

> From an early age, children are always reminded of a simple rule: they must not curse others or fight. These two things are important because they can damage good family and community relationships. The Sabu people believe that harsh words and fighting humiliate oneself and tarnish the family name. Therefore, parents and traditional elders emphasise that children must watch their words and behaviour for mutual harmony. (N7)
>
> In Sabu customs, there are obvious rules: there must be no disputes, no stealing; all of these are strictly prohibited by custom. These rules are not just ordinary prohibitions, but are seen as conditions for maintaining harmony in communal life. From an early age, children are

taught that violating these rules not only tarnishes their own reputation, but also brings shame to their family and damages the good name of the community. (N3)

Etiquette and social relations are also evident in the values of hospitality and openness. The Sabu people are known for their ability to relate to various tribes and be open to anyone.

They say that Sabu people are pleasant because they can get along with anyone. Sabu people are sociable, do not discriminate based on ethnicity, and easily accept others. In my opinion, our ability to build relationships is our strength. We are accustomed to treating others as our own family, and this habit persists today. That makes the Sabu people known to be friendly and easily accepted in many places. (N5)

This value of friendliness is also manifested in simple actions such as greeting others first, addressing them first, or paying attention in times of grief.

Among us Sabu people, the habit of greeting each other is still strong. We do not wait for others to greet us first but instead take the initiative to greet them first. That way, the atmosphere becomes warm, there is no distance, and relationships are maintained. From childhood, children are also taught to be friendly and to greet others first, because this is considered part of good manners and a way of maintaining harmony in the community. (N8)

These ethical values show that the Sabu people highly value personal integrity and social connectedness. Ethics are not only about personal behaviour, but also form the basis for maintaining harmony, order, and respect for others in a communal way of life.

Discussion

Parenting Values in Sabu Society are Structured Hierarchically

The findings of this study show that the *parenting value* system in Sabu society takes the form of a structured flow of values consistently practised from generation to generation. This flow begins with the core value, namely family values, which form the foundation for forming children's social and moral identities. In Sabu society, "family" refers to the nuclear family and includes the entire community, which is considered to be descended from the same ancestors.

This family value is then translated into operational values such as social responsibility. Social responsibility is the second layer in the *parenting value* structure of the Sabu community. From an early age, children are taught that their self-worth as children is determined by their contribution to the family, namely, the community. They are not only prepared to be good family members, but also as adults capable

of shouldering social responsibility. From an early age, children are taught to work hard because the responsibility of the family (community) rests on a child's shoulders. The ultimate goal of this parenting value is not the child's development, but the community's sustainability.

As part of the community, children need to understand that they have social responsibilities as Sabu children, such as the ability to share, for example, sharing food at birth celebrations, family gatherings (collecting money at weddings and funerals) to ease the burden on families, and actively helping to physically set up tents and prepare food at times of mourning. All of this is done voluntarily, without being asked. A Sabu child must understand their responsibility to share for the sustainability of the community.

Finally, these values are upheld by ethical values that govern individual behaviour within the community. A Sabu child needs to take care of themselves and train themselves to be honest, friendly, respectful of others, and open in simple actions such as greeting others first, reprimanding others first, or paying attention in times of grief. In addition, there is a strict prohibition against fighting or cursing others. This is not only a matter of manners, but also a form of responsibility for social harmony.

The Sabu community has formed a holistic *parenting value* structure, starting from the abstract value of kinship and leading to the operational value of social responsibility, expanded through social solidarity, and strictly upheld by ethical values. It reflects what is referred to (Bornstein, 2012; Bornstein et al., 2011)as "*cultural models of parenting,*" namely that each community builds a parenting system that reflects its own cultural values, norms, and expectations. It reflects a collectivist value orientation, as described by Triandis (Gorla et al., 2024; Prioste et al., 2015; Triandis, 2018; Wang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2003),that in a collective culture, individual identity is formed through social relationships and commitment to the group.

The Uniqueness of Parenting Values in Sabu Society

The value structure found in the parenting practices of the Sabu community shows similarities to the universal value structure model developed by Schwartz (Schwartz & Bardi, 2001; Vauclair et al., 2011), especially in terms of the motivational relationship between values. The central values in Sabu society, such as the philosophy of *ie lowe wini dome mude para lai* ("it is better to have many siblings because it makes many things easier"), can be seen as a concrete expression of the *benevolence* and *tradition* value clusters in Schwartz's theory, which highlight of caring, social responsibility, and respect of cultural norms. In practice, values such as honesty, hospitality, solidarity, and cooperation are lived out as everyday habits. These not arranged as a hierarchical level but work together as a functionally reinforcing community life cohesive (Schwartz et al., 2012;Schwartz & Huismans, 1995).

Schwartz's value approach is an individual motivational priority that can vary between people and cultures (Davidov et al., 2008).Values are described as psychological constructs, namely beliefs or principles that guide behaviour and are prioritised relatively by individuals (Vauclair et al., 2011).Thus, this model is strong in examining the structure and relationships between values, but does not discuss in detail how these values emerge in children's daily lives (Schwartz & Butenko, 2014).

Unlike Sabu society, values function not only as an internal orientation for individuals but also as a social instrument to ensure community togetherness and cultural continuity. Values not only exist on an abstract level, but are also manifested in routines, symbols, and interactions involving children from an early age. It seen in the tradition of *hengo'do* or nose kissing is instilled in children early on. It is not just a greeting but teaches how to feel attachment and affection within the family. For example, children's participation in *ko'o ma* is a direct training in responsibility, solidarity, and mutual assistance. Or listening to family genealogy during funerals or other traditional ceremonies. These are *embodied lessons* about identity (Bunga et al., 2025),history, and moral lesson.

Psychologically, it is true that individuals interpret values. However, culture provides structures, symbols, and practices that shape how individuals learn, interpret, and live out these values (Fischer & Mansell, 2009). Bronfenbrenner asserts that individuals cannot live in a vacuum. They must exist within interconnected systems, from the family as a microsystem to culture and social norms (macrosystem) (Rosa & Tudge, 2013).These systems help people decide what is important and what is not (Miu, 2018). Vygotsky reinforces this assumption that the meaning and function of values do not appear instantly in individuals but occur through socio-cultural means, namely through language, daily practices, and interactions with social *figures* (Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2020),such as parents and traditional leaders. Sabu children are taught genealogy from an early age, which is rich in linguistic symbols and meanings to help them understand their identity as part of a family. For example, Sabu children must memorise their family genealogy through the custom of reciting genealogy, which is usually chanted during funeral ceremonies. Mats are laid out, and children are not allowed to fall asleep. It means that children learn to understand their identity as part of the family system through the language and symbols they acquire in rituals and traditions practised in their culture.

The Internalisation of Parenting Values is a Collective Project

Furthermore, the process of internalising parenting values in Sabu society is a collective project. Children interact not only with their biological parents, but also with the community. The community also has the same responsibilities and rights regarding this internalisation process. For example, if a child is caught stealing, they will receive

social sanctions to be paraded around the village and forced to admit they are thieves. Everyone in the community can punish the child. It is because what they are protecting is not the harmony of the family in the small sense, but the family in the larger sense, namely, the harmony of the community. Also, for the Sabu community, values are not only about what they believe, but also about what they do with their children daily. It includes *role modelling, participatory learning*, and *symbolic transmission* through rituals, speech, and stories (Messner, 2024; Miu, 2018).

These parenting values are firmly ingrained and have become part of the ethnic identity of the Sabu people (Bunga et al., 2025). The strength of these parenting values in Sabu society cannot be separated from the ecological and social history that has shaped their way of life.

Sabu Island is geographically relatively isolated. Access to and from the area was limited.

The dry and barren natural conditions required the community to find way to survive by relying on cooperation and solidarity among themselves. Within the framework of ecocultural theory (Weisner, 2002), these challenging physical and socioeconomic conditions shape parenting patterns that emphasise social connectedness and interdependence. In this case, the philosophy of *ie lowe wini dome mude para lai* ("better to have many brothers") became the fundamental principle that guided all social and parenting activities. Past access limitations encouraged the Sabu community to maintain physical and emotional closeness through regular meetings, collective work in the fields, and joint participation in traditional rituals. These gatherings were not only a means of communication, but also an arena for strengthening a sense of togetherness and renewing commitment to core values such as social responsibility (*conformity)*, solidarity (*benevolence* and *security)*, and social ethics (*tradition)*.

Oral history, which is constantly repeated, also plays an important role in strengthening the internalisation of these values (Wakefield, 2013). The narrative that all Sabu people come from one ancestor who then formed sub-districts on this island reinforces the "one big family" identity for all community members. This identity transcends geographical boundaries. Sabu migrants are immediately considered brothers and sisters once their origins are known.

This study can broaden our understanding of the value structure in indigenous communities. It shows that values are not only mapped psychometrically and are not merely individual preferences, but can also be analysed as a layered system that moves from the philosophical level, is operationalised into social rules, and is practised in parenting. Furthermore, this study also provides evidence that the values of parenting in Sabu society are the result of ecological and historical constructs, not merely the result of individual interpretations. It confirms the importance of viewing values in a broader context, such as culture. The concept of kinship values found in the Sabu indigenous society can serve as a model for understanding how value systems shape collective identity in other societies.

Not only that, in practical terms, this study can provide insights for education, parenting, and community-based intervention programmes so that they do not only focus on the nuclear family but also involve the role of the community and traditional elders. The results of this study also provide a basis for the preservation of local culture, emphasising that parenting values are an important means of maintaining social cohesion and ethnic identity.

However, this study also has limitations that need to be considered by future researchers. These findings are specific to the indigenous Sabu community's unique ecological conditions and history. Generalisation to other communities must be done with caution. In addition, this study focuses on communities living on the island of Sabu, while parenting practices in Sabu diaspora communities may have variations that have not yet been explored. Methodologically, this study also has limitations, such as using interviews and FGDs, which are prone to representation bias, as the most dominant voices (traditional leaders) are more likely to be recorded than those of more marginalised groups. This study also records value structures but does not capture the dynamics of change due to modernisation or the influence of global religion and how traditional values interact with new values. Future research should take these limitations into account.

Conclusions

This study shows four fundamental parenting values in Sabu society: communal kinship, social responsibility, solidarity, and social ethics. These four values do not stand alone but form a layered structure that is systematically organised, starting from the philosophical layer, then descending into normative rules, and finally manifested in concrete parenting practices that children need to pay attention to in order to achieve these values. These layers converge on one main value that forms the foundation of Sabu society, kinship.

Kinship is the centre of value orientation because it is influenced by ecological adaptation to a barren and isolated island that demands solidarity and togetherness to survive. This is also reinforced by the story of ancestral origins, which makes the Sabu people see themselves as one big family. This sense of togetherness is maintained through customary institutions (rules, rituals, traditions) and implemented in daily parenting practices. Children are involved in collective work, eating together, and submitting to the guidance of grandparents and customary elders from an early age.

It can be understood that the Sabu people regard parenting value as a guiding principle of life, carefully structured from their philosophical meaning to their application in daily practice. This research provides a richer and deeper understanding of how parenting values within a community can shape personal and collective moral identity. It also offers an interesting conceptual model of value patterns in collec-

tive societies such as Sabu, which may also be found in other communities in Indonesia. However, this study has limitations that need to be considered, namely its narrow focus, limited only to the Sabu community, and exploratory nature. Further research could explore the dynamics of this value transformation amid modernisation and globalisation to obtain a more comprehensive picture of the sustainability of future parenting values.

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